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what it means. We have seen in history how, when the common people have got their attention fixed upon great public questions at home, that moment "a vigorous foreign policy" is inaugurated and a war started and fools are running to fight. When we point out to the powers that be that there are two millions of men unemployed upon the street, the answer is, "Hurrah for the flag!" Yes, but fourteen hundred thousand married women leave their homes every morning to work in mill and factory. "Never mind, hurrah for the flag!" But there are millions of little children denied the advantages of education. "Never mind, hurrah for the flag!" The labor organizations will cheer the flag when the flag stands for the protection of the home, the fireside, the women and the children, but not when it is carried into war to impose upon the people burdens that do not belong there. Boston and Massachusetts stand for peace. We know what it means. We are glad to be in sympathy with you in this movement. I am not in favor of an alliance offensive and defensive with any country, that we may send our army and navy officers strutting round the world with a chip on their shoulders; but I am in favor of a great international board of arbitration that will settle those questions by the arbitrament of wit and of thought, and not by the arbitrament of the sword and the pistol.

Mr. George E. McNeill, the veteran of the labor movement in Boston, spoke a few words before the meeting closed. He said:

War comes with injustice, peace comes with equity. Wherever injustice exists, there must and will be war. There is war in our hearts if we deal unjustly with our neighbor. There is war in our institutions if through them inequity exists. Organized labor stands for peace, not only for the peace called for by the Czar of Russia but the peace which was called for over eighteen hundred years ago.

Women's Work for Peace.

GRAND RALLY IN TREMONT TEMPLE.

Addressess by Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore and others.

The Women's Peace Crusade meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, at noon on Monday, April 3rd, was a most impressive occasion. At least two thousand five hundred persons were present and much earnestness and enthusiasm were manifested. Addressess were made by Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Lucia Ames Mead, Miss O. M. E. Rowe, president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, and by Alice Freeman Palmer. The addressess of Mrs. Howe and Mrs. Livermore are given in full below. Mrs. Mead gave some of the startling economic facts which show that armed peace has come to be, in its way, as great a curse as war itself. Recent weapons are, she said, from ninety to two hundred times as powerful as those of thirty years ago. The war debts have doubled, the armies have grown to enormous proportions, the burdens of taxation have greatly increased, every nation in Europe is spending from two to twelve times as much upon armaments as upon education. The remedy is found in the substitution of arbitration for the arbitrament of the sword. Arbitration is already here and has been eminently successful. One hundred years hence war will have been put away as duelling has been put behind us.

Miss Rowe spoke briefly, but most forcibly of the work which is being done and should be more fully done by the Women's Clubs, and presented the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the great audience:

Resolved, That this assembly urges the national and state Federations of Women's Clubs and other organizations of women throughout the United States to prosecute a vigorous campaign of education in regard to the evils of standing armies and navies, with a view to secure the establishment eventually of a permanent tribunal for the adjustment of international difficulties.

Resolved, That we urge the clergy and the press to take a more active interest in the coming peace conference called by the Czar at The Hague, to the end that the commissioners sent by our government may be reinforced by a strong public opinion; and that we urge all lovers of right to use their utmost influence to create a powerful public sentiment in favor of settling all international differences by courts instead of by armed force, by appeal to reason rather than to passion.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Czar, to President McKinley, and to organizations of women throughout the country.

The closing address of the meeting was by Alice Freeman Palmer who urged all individuals to arouse themselves to a sense of their personal responsibility, and to do their duty in their personal spheres. She also urged the training of the children in the schools to right ideas in regard to arbitration and peace, and suggested the offering of prizes in the schools for essays on arbitration and peace.

The Development of the Peace Ideal.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

The theme allotted me for my ten minutes speech today was the Development of the Peace Ideal. To treat this ever so briefly I must revert to matters in the past which make evident the progress already made in this direction. I might go back to that Latin author, Tacitus, if I mistake not, who tells of an Advocate of Peace who, when once the legions of Rome were drawn up in battle array, confronted the ranks, and endeavored to dissuade the soldiers from the shedding of human blood. The historian avers that this apostle met with a rough response and would have been roughly handled if he had not ceased his untimely exhortation (*nisi intempestivam sapientiam relinquisset*).

I remember in my early youth to have seen at a friend's house in New York a modest elderly man who was pointed out to me as being all that was left of the American Peace Society. Into the history of this Society I did not then inquire. If I had done so, I should have found that Judge William Jay, son of John Jay, had given it the assistance of his name. I was in Boston in 1845 when Charles Sumner delivered his celebrated oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations." This plea for peace principles was at the time regarded as a Quixotic and mal-apropos utterance and although admired by some was derided by many. I, myself, first thought seriously of these matters in the year 1870, when my sympathies turned strongly towards France betrayed by her government into an insensate war, from which she came forth mutilated and humbled. The cruel waste of human life

thus brought on by the ambition of rulers affected me as even our own Civil War had not. Seeking in my mind a counteracting force which might avail to protect society from such wanton acts of devastation, I bethought me of the sacred right vested in the women of civilized communities to keep the bond of Peace and to protect the lives bought by their bitter pain, and fashioned by their endless labor. Impelled by this thought, I made a sudden and considerable effort to arouse my sex all the world over to some sense of their responsibilities in this regard. I endeavored to institute a combined action among the mothers of men to promote in every possible way the just and peaceable settlement of all questions which are likely to arise between nations. Alas! the time for this has not yet come. Organized action among women scarcely existed.

Even so sincere a philanthropist as my husband would quote to me this saying: "Slaughter is God's daughter."

My cry came back to me with but the faintest echo. Nearly thirty years have passed since then, and during that time some of the prophecies foreboding the termination of war have approached fulfilment. One of these was that the methods and implements of warfare would become so deadly that men would no longer encounter them.

Not quite in this wise, but on economic grounds, the burthens of war have ceased to commend themselves either to rulers or to nations. The unproductive legions, eating up the earnings of the community perpetually mustered and drilled in view of a result from which every government shrinks are now felt to be superfluous. They must be maintained at high cost, in the enjoyment of every condition essential to bodily well-being while their wages and cost of keep are wrung from the peasants' wage, the widows' pittance, the merchants' gain. When they are not in active service they bring with them the threat of bankruptcy. When they take the field, all the powers of destruction are let loose, to prey upon commerce, civil government and the sacred immunities of family life.

The shadow moves forward on the dial of history, and now one, foremost among the rulers of the civilized world, cries out that the burthen of armed Peace is becoming intolerable. To the sovereigns, his fellows, he says; "Let us, with one accord, lift it from our shoulders." These brave words, from a crowned autocrat, have astonished the world.

We women who meet here to-day are gathered together to utter our response: "Yes," we answer, "the burthen of these huge armaments is intolerable—we have long felt it to be such." We women do not stand to-day as we did thirty years ago. A new revelation has come to us, the gospel, not of our weakness, but of our strength. We have found each other out. We have learned the power that lies in union, and we feel ourselves able to confront the Angels of Desolation, and to turn them back from their direful work. The more excellent way has appeared to us trodden by martyrs of old, by missionaries of our own time, illuminated by the torch-light of ancient prophecies, glorified by the star-light of Christian hope. In one hand we grasp the roll of Isaiah—in the other, the silver shield of Paul. The one has foretold the days in which nations shall cease to learn the art of warfare and shall convert their weapons into tools of agriculture. The other sets

before us the figure of that most excellent spirit of Charity, and bids us overcome evil with good, and violence with justice.

As the political horizon widens before us, revealing features unknown before, how fortunate is it that human intelligence widens also, and that the agencies which promote the well being of society constantly display new resources and unfold new benefactions.

A great word spoken among men is a great gift from God. Even if, like my feeble cry of thirty years since, it should remain without an answer, I hold the Czar's Peace Manifesto to be one of the foremost gifts of the present century, fit to rank with the feats of Garibaldi and the sacrifice of John Brown.

The greater accord of human intelligence, of which I spoke just now, points the way to an agreement hitherto unknown between the different domains of Christendom. Here, philosophy and religion stand side by side. Kant, the greatest modern philosopher, arrived before his death at the conclusion that universal peace was as possible as it must ever be desirable. And in the various sects which constitute the great world-church the cruel hatred of barbaric times has given place to a recognition of brotherhood which will grow clearer with every coming year.

Ours be it, as women, lovers of peace and guardians of the home, to cherish the sacred flame of goodwill which should consume the thorns that afflict society. The moment of these beautiful enthusiasms passes, but each one is bound to leave its record in the consciousness of mankind. Each one carries our race a step forward in its true progress.

Let Us Demand the Uttermost.

BY MARY A. LIVERMORE.

The appointed time draws near for the convening of the International Conference, called by Nicholas II. of Russia, to discuss the possibility of placing a check on the increasing armament of nations. The American people have paid little attention to the notable manifesto of the Czar. The danger of our short war with Spain still sounds in our ears, and the suddenly evoked war spirit has hardly died out in our breasts. Moreover, we have never needed a large standing army, or a mighty navy, and know nothing of the burden of maintaining an armed peace, with the enginery of war continually changing, as science, invention and skill evolve that which is more deadly and destructive.

Across the water it has been otherwise. The nations of Europe have waited long and wearily for a lessening of the monstrous militarism prevailing there, which "the people have more and more difficulty in bearing." The heavy war taxes push them to the uttermost verge of poverty, they find it more and more difficult to obtain even poor and insufficient food, are weakened bodily and robbed of education, and are thus stunted physically, morally and mentally. So many men are withdrawn from productive industries to increase the army, that women are forced into employments unsuited to them. They become de-womanized, and sometimes de-humanized, and are ruined for motherhood and home-making.

The Czar's manifesto has been received with profound interest by the people of Europe. Organizations have been formed in Berlin and Munich to awaken public sentiment in its favor, and there is similar activity in other